101 of the Salado (1) River to the Pilcomayo, hemmed in towards the
131

1. From Matará northwards.

mountains by tribes of Quichua influence and others, and in the direction of the Río de la Plata by nations of the Toba-Guaycurú type. This vast region was bounded on the north by Chiriguano territory, and on the south by the Quichuas and Pampas of the Guaycurú-Querandí type.

It appears at present that the basin of the Salado River ceased
●174 to be territory of the nomad Matacos who, in the past century, were replaced by the Mocovíes and other tribes of a more definite Guycurú type. Lozano in his first volume and on page 175 (Lamas Ed.) says that "gasta" means town in the Tonocoté language. This being the case these tribes must have entered the valleys of Yocavil and Londres also, for all the Andean region is full of places whose names end in "gasta" (2). According to my observations "gasta" is as Cacan a word

2. In none of the Mataco-Mataguayo dialects does the term "gasta" appear.

as is "ao."

In any case one thing must needs be conceded and that is that the Mataco tribes had shifted towards the southwest up to the Aconquija range. [611]

221 The Matacos, like the Tobas and other Guaycurú nations are and were nomads, and of course one cannot indicate exactly the areas frequented by them when they were on the move; at one time they would go in one direction, at another in another, according to pressure from more warlike tribes or from the Spaniards.

All agree that after the Spanish conquest numerous tribes of
221 Matacos or Tonocotés withdrew towards the Pilcomayo River basin and
174 this is exactly what would have been expected because there they were less exposed to Spanish raiders who would carry off any Indian they found to forced labor; these they used to call piezas "pieces of ordinance"--Translator].

197 and we are assured that they differed more in language than in their manner and customs, that is to say, that they had in them a good bit of Toba, Mocoví and Abipón. This, linguistically speaking is a fact, for those differences to which the missionaries made reference are lexical rather than grammatical in character. Pronouns, their particles, suffixes of plurality, all point to a common origin, that is, to hybridization.

It is common knowledge that the Matacos and Tobas always went about together, as though they recognized their kinship.

These considerations induce me to believe that the Matacos are
● [174] the offspring of Guaycurú fathers and Lule mothers; and the Tobas, a mixture of Guaycurúes and Matacos.

The Guaycurúes are related linguistically to the Guaraníes, and these, in turn, to the Caribes and Mojo-Maypures, and they may also be related to the Matacos.

That Mataco has some Guaraní and Chaquense (Guaycurú, Toba, Mocoví, etc. tribes) is to be gathered since all of them prefix their pronominal particles; but the strange thing is that Quichua also has a place here, it being of all the most prone to suffixing.

All these linguistic anomalies can be explained if we admit
174 what Montecinos says, that approximately since 500 B.C. to about 500 A.D. there were successive massive invasions of Perú from Brasil and Tucumán.

Observation teaches us that first and second person singular
197 pronouns and first (excluding the hearer) [613] person plural, correspond
174 to the predominant group, be it by conquest or for some other reason. It is precisely in these persons that the analogy between Quichua and Mataco are most exact, it being only proper to give warning that Mataco, like Mojo, is logical even in its possessive particles, a phenomenon which does not occur in Quichua. (1)

1. Because "Ñokha" is--"I"; "y" subfixed--"my" or "mine," in Quichua.

Aymará and Araucano register the same pronominal influence and such analogies lead us to seek craniological proof, and also to study Mataco along with Quichua Aymará and Araucano.

Let us suppose that the Chaco, or rather the highlands which sur-
174 round it, had been occupied by tribes corresponding to those we call Lules

● 174 and Quichuas, a peaceful people, docile and given to civilization, shall we say Diaguitas or Pueblo people. With the passage of time these would be attacked by nomadic tribes, Juries, a more or less Guaycurú type:- these latter would overrun the territory, killing and laying waste, taking possession of the land and of the women and children of the defeated.

From interbreeding with the Lules, to judge from the language, the Vilela and other similar nations could have sprung; and from contact with the Andean group, the Mataco nation and its ramifications.

Other hordes would sweep into the land at a later date, of a more pronounced Guaycurú type and by extermination on one hand and interbreeding on the other, there would spring up the Mocoví, Abipon, and the Toba, which latter, as I believe is a cross between Mataco and Mocoví, that is, Guaicuru [sic].

The Lengua, Payaguá and remaining tribes of the Guaycurú type still remain to be studied, but the preceding observations seem to explain, up to a point, the genesis of the Chaco Indians.

An interesting link is still missing, and that is the Charrúa. The most ferocious and indomitable of all the Indians ever encountered in Argentina, who did not give in even to the efforts of the Fathers of the Company of Jesus. A people given to swallowing up others, and later itself cornered in Uruguay, it disappeared from its theater of operations leaving only the meagerest traces of its existence. Yet the time was when it used to sweep the basins of the Paraná, Uruguay and Río de la Plata. When the Spaniards arrived, and for two centuries more they were the scourge of Santa Fé, Entre Ríos and Montevideo. Because their [624] language was guttural and very difficult, I claim them as being of the original Guaycurú type, that Chaco grouping which was an offshoot from Carib stock, at its most savage.

It is logical to attribute to the most warlike tribes a share in the heritage of the ferocious Mocovíes, Tobas, etc., and to suppose that the purer the blood, the less will be the disposition to take on the Quichua or European civilization.

Today it is the task of anthropology to resolve this problem. In the place where the Lules were snuffed out in the past century there must be considerable skeletal remains. The same must be the case with the Charrúa burial grounds in Uruguay. We still have the Matacos, Tobas, Mocovies, etc., with us. Let us hope then that men competent

●174 in these matters will give serious study to these skulls and in that way confirm my hypothesis based on what the languages themselves allow us to glimpse.

114 The ethnology of a given people, if it is to be of value, must include the anthropology of that people. The language alone is insufficient because of the well known tendency to adopt foreign elements on both a large and a small scale.

I am sorry that I do not know as much as does Quatrefages; but if a man as eminent as he is has had to confess his ignorance in linguistic matters, much more so may I leave the question open until such time as the anthropological problems which Argentina poses to the authorities in that field, have been solved. I am satisfied to point out the paths which I believe I have found and to declare that judging by extant languages, everything in the Chaco is a mixed bag.

Further than this I do not dare to push my hypothesis. Let this quote from Quatrefages found in his "Hommes Fossiles et Hommes Sauvages" [Fossil Men and Savage Men] serve me as an excuse: "Furthermore in problems of this kind the physical characteristics are in every way more conclusive as evidence than all others. A nation can change in language, in customs, in industries, sometimes in a relatively short period; but height, skin, cranial shape—that cannot be lost so quickly" (p. 577). [615]

XXII

The Language of the Matacos

One of the mysteries of modern linguistics is the lack of information on this interesting group of languages, spoken by tribes which still occupy a considerable territory in the Argentine and Bolivian Chacos.

Little enough was known about the Mocoví, Abipon, and Lule, but that little was enough to reveal the grammatical workings of the respective languages. Yet about Mataco neither Hervas nor Adelung

2: Karsten E-5 (1911-1913)1932 SI7 Mataco SI7
Toba SI 12
Choroti SK6

Chapter II.

General characteristics and material culture.

In their physical characteristics the *Choroti* and the *Mataco* show the same affinity as appears in their languages. Both of them are strongly built and of middle height, the Mataco somewhat taller than the Choroti. The average height of the former seems to be about 163 or 164 cm. for the men and 154 or 155 cm. for the women; of the latter about 162 or 163 cm. for the men and 152 or 153 cm. for the women. In their sturdy appearance the Mataco resemble the mountain Indians, and in former times there has probably been intermarriage between them and the Quichuas. The hair of both tribes is black, coarse and straggling and is worn long by both men and women, except when it is temporarily cut short for ceremonial reasons. The eyes are dark-brown, the nose somewhat flattened, and the features of the face generally irregular, especially among the Mataco. Both tribes know the custom of tattooing the face, the women being always tattooed, the men only in some cases, and never as completely as the women.

I need not dwell upon the physical characteristics of the *Tobas* since they have been described by nearly all authors ever since Lozano. They certainly form an easily recognisable type of Indian, differing considerably from the rest of the Chaco tribes, one salient feature being their remarkably tall and strong build of body. The Tobas are in fact among the tallest of all South American Indians, being in this respect comparable with the ancient Patagonians, to whom they were probably related, as well as with the present Ona Indians of the mainland of Tierra del Fuego. The physical anthropology of the Tobas, just as that of the Mataco and the Choroti, has been studied scientifically by the German anthropologist Dr. Lehmann-Nitsche. [1])

[1]) Lehmann-Nitsche, R. *Estudios antropológicos sobre los Chiriguanos, Chorotes, Matacos y Tobas* (*Anales del Museo de La Plata*. Buenos Aires, 1908).

Choroti SK6
Mataco SI7
Güisnais

Ci 301 302 171 /321 cont./

Doubtless through being very close to the Toba, they pierce their ear lobes, in which they put pieces of wood, and they also stain their faces.

Ci 648 [464]

In the expeditions to the Paraguay they have never shown themselves to be hostile to the whites and soldiers; rather they have lent important services and it was they who saved the life of Señor Touvar and his companions when they became separated from the expedition. Therefore the reduction of these Indians to civilized life would be very profitable.

Güisnáis

M 131 101

These Indians occupy the western bank of the Pilcomayo facing the Choroti Indians and southwest of the region occupied by the Mataco. The geographic degree of their territory, with a very slight difference, is the same as that of the Choroti, since they are separated from the latter only by the river bed.

M 101 181 241 231 197

They are a division of the Mataco; they speak the latter's language with very little difference; their customs are nearly identical and their number quite small. They are of a peaceful nature like the Choroti, and like them, they plant gourds and other vegetables. They also devote themselves to the raising of domestic animals, such as cows, horses, sheep, goats, and chickens.

M 167 177 464 224

Even the Güisnáis frequently come out for jobs in the Argentine Republic, from where they also bring back weapons, in order to use them particularly in the woods, killing birds, wild boars, deer, and other quadrupeds.

M 174 771 776 [756]

They have more religious ideas than other tribes, and it seems that their great-grandparents might have belonged to some former Argentine mission, because, more than others, they recognize a true divinity. /322/ Nonetheless in their great ignorance they confuse ideas, and in great fear they recognize in sorcerers a power that they do not have.